285 belonged to the headdress called angkynghetanohó, [108:134]
292 that is to say, the same term written ankungitána by Wagley with
[114] the addition of the augmentative suffix ho. Strips one to one and a half centimeters wide, taken from a leaf stem of the muriti palm, are folded across in such a way that one tip projects three or four centimeters beyond the other (cf. Fig. 19). The jutting ends
[283] of all the strips lie on the same side when the folded ends are strung on a cord that is twisted clockwise and made up of four threads of vegetable fiber twisted counter-clockwise. The semicircular position of this cord forces the strips into a radiating pattern. In the particular specimen being discussed (Photo. 15), the folded ends are so tightly packed side by side and even on top of each other that the periphery of the semicircle they form measures 27 centimeters. To keep them in this position, the cord is tied with knots at the tips of the semicircle to prevent it from slipping. At a distance of 13 or 15 centimeters from the folded ends, the
[283] strips are entwined with string twisted counter-clockwise and made up of two threads of cotton spun clockwise. These strings lie parallel to each other, close together, and they are dyed a dark brown color. The entwined band takes up from seven and a half to nine centimeters of the longer strip sections, which vary in length from 28 to 30 centimeters. On the side of the shorter section, the entwined band is coated with light-grey clay. The strips are held by this band in such a way that their tips lie a few millimeters apart. This, along with the already-mentioned crowding of the folded ends, produces the semicircular shape reminiscent of the
●[774] form that the Tapirapé attribute to certain anchinga, that is to say, "shadows" or spirits, and by which they represent them. The periphery of the frame measures 135 centimeters, and its total width is 70 centimeters. The entwined band consists of 112 strings divided into units of four. These units are due to the fact that two pairs of strings are twined alternately around the strips, and that these pairs twine alternately around each other after their common entwining of each strip. This mutual and alternate penetration of both pairs of strings, with each pair always consisting of the same two strings, is due to the fact that the strings of one pair cross each other when they are entwined by the strings of the other pair. An irregularity arises when the strings of one pair cross twice between two regular crossing points of the strings of the other pair. Both

4: Wagley E-5 (1939-1940) 1943
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776 Some of these demons of the forest are now "pets" of the Tapirapé, and are no longer dangerous to them. The comparatively harmless *ančúnga*, in a sense domesticated by Tapirapé men, come at intervals throughout the year to live in the large central men's house. While an [535] *ančúnga* is inhabiting this ceremonial house, Tapirapé men sing and [530] dance with masks representing the visiting spirit (7).

756 Knowledge of the supernatural world is gained chiefly through the 787 dream experiences of shamans or *pančé*, for among the Tapirapé shamanistic power derives from dreams and from powers revealed in them. 078 Dreams are believed to be journeys. The *iangá*, the soul, may free itself [529] from the *eté*, the body, in sleep, and move freely in time and space. Obviously anyone may dream but frequent dreaming is evidence of shamanistic power. Laymen who dream very much are afraid, for they do not belong in this supernatural world, or they believe that they should become shamans.

Campukwi, who was not a shaman, indicated this fear in telling me his dream experience. When he saw dangerous *ančúnga* in his dream, he had no recourse but to run: "I am not a shaman. I was afraid. I ran. They would have killed me". Only shamans have the supernatural power to move freely in this dream-world of ghosts and demons. A shaman is never afraid in his dream travels, for ghosts are his friends and the power of a shaman grows in proportion as he fraternizes with the demonic spirits of the forest. After a dream-visit from a shaman, hordes of demonic spirits may become his familiars, obedient to his calls for aid. Turning himself into a bird or launching himself through the air in his "canoe" a half gourd, he travels to the villages of ghosts, to the houses of demonic spirits, or to such temporal places as the Brazilian settlements or Carajá villages on the Araguaya River. Then, too, time is no obstacle; in a sleep of a few minutes he may experience three or four days of dream adventure.

756 The dream experience of Ikananeowi, a powerful shaman who died 776 a few years before my visit, will illustrate these points. In his dream he 787 walked far to the shores of a large lake deep in the jungle. There he heard dogs barking and ran in the direction from which the noise came until he met several forest spirits of the breed called *manpi anká*. They

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077 (7) The men's masked dance cult, kept as a secret from the women, is not
[532] universally found among Tupi tribes. In this case it has obviously been borrowed from
[777] the Tapirapé's neighbors, the Carajá.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
SP22 Tapirape SP22

are called upon to fight Thunder. This, the important *Tapirapé* ceremony, lasts for 4 days, and is the high point of shamanistic activity.

Kanawana, the Thunder, lives on distant Maratawa surrounded by the souls of dead shamans and by the topũ (probably equivalent to the *Tupinamba* word, "tupan"), small anthropomorphic beings whose bodies are covered with white hair.

The topũ travel through space in their canoes (half gourds), the sound of which produces the noise of the storm. The arrows which the topũ shoot cause lightning. During the ceremony, the shamans, completely intoxicated by the tobacco and stimulated by the unceasing dancing and singing, fall into a trance (pl. 19, *top, right*) during which they travel to Thunder's house in order to fight him. Thunder sets the topũ against the shamans, who, wounded by the arrows of "Thunder's creatures," fall into unconsciousness.

SHAMANISM

The *Tapirapé* can visualize the supernatural world through the reports of the dreams of their shamans, whose power grows in proportion to their ability to dream. A dream is a voyage, during which the soul frees itself of the body and travels through space. In these dreams the shamans travel to regions which are entirely unknown to the living, and in general are inhabited by spirits. With their powers, the shamans succeed in taming some of the spirits, who then become their familiar spirits. The power and prestige of the shaman (pandé) depend on the number of his familiar spirits.

The *Tapirapé* speak of battles between shamans wherein each calls out his familiar spirits against the other while dreaming. More often, a shaman sets his familiar spirits upon laymen and kills them. A shaman may also kill his victim during a dream by throwing a malignant object, usually a piece of bone or a worm, into his body.

The victims of sorcery appeal to friendly shamans, who attempt to cure them by extracting the malignant object by suction, massage, and blowing tobacco. When many deaths occur simultaneously and the *Tapirapé* suspect a certain shaman of having caused them, they do not hesitate to kill him. One man recalled that during his lifetime 10 shamans suspected of sorcery had been killed. He himself had killed a shaman whom he suspected of having killed his brother. In spite of the constant suspicion surrounding them, the shamans do not employ mechanical techniques or sympathetic magic in sorcery.

The shamans make great use of tobacco, which is essential for healing and dreaming. They smoke it in large tubular clay pipes. Cures usually take place at dusk. The shaman squats by the patient's hammock and smokes for a long time, becoming intoxicated and blowing the smoke from the pipe over the patient's body. He then massages the patient,